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**DOMESTIC ROLE FOR THE U.S. ARMY  
IN THE POST COLD WAR PERIOD**

BY

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## **ABSTRACT**

**AUTHOR:** Warren A. Theis, Army Civilian

**TITLE:** Domestic Role for the U.S. Army In the Cold War Period

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The U.S. Army is undergoing significant pressure to change as a result of resource constraints in the Cold War period. Army roles and missions are being explored to align the Army with the realities of new threats and fiscal resource constraints. The challenge to the Army will be to become more efficient during downsizing while maintaining their constitutional requirement to defend the national strategic interests of the United States. Conducting domestic assistance provides a method to achieve this efficiency. A domestic assistance role by the Army is not new. Past domestic assistance roles, legalities involved, Congressionally proposed domestic roles and the thoughts and statements on domestic military roles of our political and military leadership are explored. Specific domestic roles are explored in detail including the negative aspects. Conclusions are made on which domestic roles could be considered by the U.S. Army.

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DOMESTIC ROLE FOR THE U.S. ARMY  
IN THE POST COLD WAR PERIOD

AN INDIVIDUAL STUDY PROJECT

by

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The American society expects the United States Army to defend the Constitution primarily by providing defense against external and internal threats. The Army soldier takes an oath to protect and defend the United States Constitution when inducted into the Army. Providing this defense can assume many forms.

In the name of efficiency, the American society is again interested in the United States Army's domestic role during the post Cold War period. This treatise attempts to explore and suggest conclusions about the potential domestic roles the U.S. Army could assume without interfering with U.S. business interests.

The scope of the exploration is somewhat restricted in that it excludes current U.S. Army missions of peacemaking, peacekeeping as in Somalia and the "Drug War". These are currently selectively accepted missions by the Army leadership and are not, in general, controversial.

## INTRODUCTION

The conduct of domestic service by the U.S. Armed Forces during the Post Cold War period is extremely controversial. There are many issues associated with domestic service that can be explored. For example, does the Constitution allow the U.S. Armed Forces to conduct this role? Will the legal statutes of Title 10 and 32 of the United States Code permit such activities? Should all of the Armed Forces or just the Army be involved in domestic assistance and at what risk, if any, to the primary role of national defense? What could the Army do? Which part of the Army is best suited towards these activities? These questions represent only some of the concepts and issues to be explored. This paper will exclude discussion of the drug interdiction role because the Army already has been involved in this mission. There are however, many opportunities to address the "demand" side of the drug war.

The paper begins by examining the constitutionality, legality and observing the historical perspective. Current Congressional proposals, recent political and military directions are described. Potential specific types of roles and associated issues are explored. The paper closes with conclusions on the feasibility of different domestic roles the Army could conduct in the Post Cold War period.

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## CONSTITUTIONALITY AND LEGALITY

The Preamble to the Constitution provides the country with it's overarching mission: "... to ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare....". It also provides three specific roles and missions for the militia (National Guard): execution of law, suppression of insurrection and repelling of invasion (Article 1, Section 8). A reasonable interpretation of the Constitution would allow domestic activities to be included as a role for the U.S. Armed Forces and specifically the militia.

Title 10 of the United States Code for the Armed Forces, Chapter 307, paragraph 3062 requires the Army to preserve the peace and security, provide for the defense, support the national policies, implement national objectives and overcome acts that imperil the peace and security of the United States (the Army is defined to include the Regular Army, the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve). All of these missions could be interpreted as inclusive of the domestic service roles. In past legislation, Congress had legitimately interpreted domestic roles for the Army such as nation building, civil rights and law enforcement.<sup>1</sup>

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

A domestic role for the Army is not new. The American society expects the U.S. Army soldier to support and defend the Constitution of the United States from internal and external

threats. They also expect that the defense will be conducted efficiently so that the resources of the United States can be expended in all areas that contribute to the national good.

The primary and traditional mission for the U.S. Army focuses on training and readiness for war in defense of the Constitution. Between wars, the Army conducted civic action and domestic support activities. For example, between the War of 1812 and the Civil War, the Army conducted a critical role in opening the territories and maintaining order. After the Civil War, the Army participated in reconstruction of the South and assisted in opening the West. Prior to World War I, the Army Medical Corps was instrumental in controlling malaria, smallpox and yellow fever during construction of the Panama Canal.

In the more recent past, the Army has been indispensable in providing disaster relief and work assistance programs. For example, the Army conducted assistance operations during Hurricanes Agnes in 1973 and Andrew in 1992, earthquake assistance in California in 1906 and 1991. President Roosevelt initiated a work assistance program called the Civilian Conservation Corps during the Depression.

#### THE CURRENT PERSPECTIVE

As has occurred in the past in times of peace and constrained resources, American society finds itself in the difficult dilemma of supporting the primary "combat training and readiness" mission and supporting domestic assistance as an



efficient parallel peacetime national priority. The number of research documents written after the Vietnam War (1973-5) and following the Post Cold War period provides clear evidence of Army interest in conducting domestic activities during peacetime.<sup>2</sup> Army conduct of this role is also supported by language in the recent Congressional Record.<sup>3</sup> The role is also supported by \$66 million dollars being appropriated in FY 1993 to the Army National Guard specifically for domestic roles. As history has shown, the most powerful stimuli for a reconsideration of the domestic role for the Army has been the re-entry into a peacetime period and the attendant constrained resources allocated to Defense.

American leaders fall on both sides of this controversial dilemma. President Bush, when signing the 1992 Defense Authorization bill, pointed out that community medical care, local school funding, training of civilian children, and establishing plans for U.S. industries "are not appropriate roles" for the military.<sup>4</sup> The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, acknowledged the reality that the U.S. Army National Guard performs:

other very, very important functions for the nation besides just getting ready to go fight. The governors who own these Guard divisions have many, many useful functions for those units and those capabilities to perform within the state.<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, General Powell went on to say,

in a force of 920,000 National Guardsmen and reservists, there will be more than enough capacity to deal with any national disaster that comes along to the nation or to any individual state.<sup>6</sup>

The Chief of Staff, Army offered his views on the subject and set forth his priorities by stating "we must ensure a trained and ready Army and retain the qualitative warfighting advantage."<sup>7</sup> He then acknowledged the need to change by directing the Army to "provide compassionate humanitarian relief."<sup>8</sup>

Some American leaders reacted to peacetime and constrained resources stimuli in different ways. President-elect Clinton stated: "No American foreign policy can succeed if it neglects our domestic needs; America cannot be strong abroad unless we rebuild our strength at home."<sup>9</sup> Senator Sam Nunn has stated "I believe that the end of the Cold War has created an expanded opportunity for cooperation between military and civilian authorities to address some of our pressing national needs."<sup>10</sup>

Senator Sam Nunn and Senator John Warner co-sponsored a proposal for civil-military co-operation which will be subsequently discussed in detail. The Department of Defense (DOD) is considering the Congressional proposal. Based on recent evidence, DOD is quite adamant on placing priority on the primary mission of the U.S. Army combat readiness.<sup>11</sup> Some Joint Staff officers recently responded to questions about the role of the Army in providing domestic services with a qualified affirmative

for only specific types of assistance. The types of assistance will also be discussed in greater detail in subsequent sections.

The obvious conclusion that can be drawn from the discussion above is that warfighting has priority, however considerable controversy remains about the U.S. Army's domestic role.

#### SENATOR NUNN'S CIVIL-MILITARY PROPOSAL

Senators Nunn and Warner have outlined the basic concept for community service by the U.S. Armed Services to encourage comments and suggestions from their colleagues and the Department of Defense.<sup>12</sup> The proposal recognizes that DOD's civilian and military leadership must remain focused on training the Armed Forces for their primary military mission. But that mission is compatible with assisting in meeting domestic needs. Any such domestic programs conducted by the U.S. Armed Services must be governed by three essential principles:

- 1) Any such project must be undertaken in a manner that is consistent with the military mission of the unit in question.
- 2) The project must fill a need that is not otherwise being met, and must not compete with the private sector or with services provided by other Government agencies.
- 3) The program cannot become a basis for justifying additional overall military expenditures, or for retaining excess military personnel.<sup>13</sup>

The objectives of a new Civil-Military Cooperation Program would be:

- 1) Enhance individual and unit training and morale through meaningful community involvement.
- 2) Encourage cooperation between civilian and military sectors of our society.
- 3) Advance equal opportunity in the Nation and helping to alleviate the racial tension and conflict and strife and misunderstanding in our Nation.
- 4) Enrich the civilian economy by transfer of technological advances and manpower skills.
- 5) Improve the ecological environment and economic and social conditions of the areas that are within the reach of our existing base structure.
- 6) Increase the opportunities for disadvantaged citizens, particularly children, to receive employment, training, education, as well as recreation.<sup>14</sup>

Specific programs Senator Nunn proposed were role modeling, rehabilititization and renewal of community facilities, military based training program to teach basic skills and improve the employability of high school dropouts, expanding the Junior ROTC Training Program, use of military facilities to assist in job training and education, medical transport and facility usage, and use of extensive military food storage, preparation and distribution systems to address hunger in America. Senator Nunn also indicated that military personnel departing from the Armed Forces with technical degrees are a tremendous asset for teaching children, particularly subjects such as math and science. These

personnel could use their leadership capabilities to provide discipline in schools.<sup>15</sup>

#### ANALYSIS OF POTENTIAL DOMESTIC ROLES

Prior to launching into analysis of specific potential roles, some definition of terms and discussion of overarching issues are necessary. The term "domestic service" is narrower in scope than "civic action". The term "civic action" covers the complete spectrum of the peaceful uses of the Armed Services. Domestic service implies activities designed to alleviate social or economic problems of the nation thereby clearly focusing domestic action programs within the United States.<sup>16</sup>

Overarching issues and their second and third order effects are, for example: Where should management be centered at, national or state management level? Who should be the responsible lead agency outside or inside DOD? If inside DOD, which service should lead?; If the Army is designated, which component, Active, Guard or Reserve? And finally, what are the legal ramifications attendant to domestic service?

Senator Nunn proposed authorizing the Department of Defense (DOD) to lead efforts in appropriate community service programs in the 1993 National Defense Authorization Act. He also proposed management be organized in the DOD under the supervision of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Force Management and Personnel. The intent was to allow broad management discretion while maintaining flexibility to the local Commander acting in

concert with local civilian government personnel. This approach would permit programs to be tailored to fit the individual needs of selected locales.

It is not a certainty that domestic assistance missions belong to the Department of Defense (DOD). In fact, logically, the management more appropriately belongs under civilian control since domestic service programs directly effects civilians. To place management authority within DOD rather than a civilian agency is a leap in faith not necessarily supported by logic. For example, one type of domestic assistance, natural disaster relief, is the responsibility of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). FEMA as well as state governors can request and receive assistance from Government agencies. The advantage of a national civilian organization, like FEMA, is that it has the authority to request domestic assistance participation from many Departments such as Education, Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, DOD and Environmental Protection Agency. DOD does not have the sole responsibility for disaster relief and therefore does not have the authority to request assistance from other agencies. Perhaps giving national management authority for domestic assistance programs to a civilian agency like the Health and Human Services Department rather than DOD is more appropriate.

Suppose that DOD was given authority to lead a domestic assistance role under the guidelines of the Congressional proposal. DOD would have to address issues such as which Armed

Service; which component or combination of components (i.e. Active, Reserve or National Guard); legal issues such as the "Posse Comitatus Act"; and the Defense and Army Regulations.

Although all the Services are capable of providing domestic service assistance, the Army has traditionally provided this type of service.<sup>17</sup> The Army is the most capable and willing of the Services to perform domestic service since they have been closest to the society and have assets of the type needed to maintain the infrastructure.<sup>18, 19</sup>

The Army Reserve and National Guard are the obvious Army components to provide domestic service rather than the Active Component, because of their combat service/combat service support orientation and their close attachment to localities. The Reserve has 1400-1500 Federal Reserve Centers with a mix of people from different states. The National Guard (NG) has 4200 units in 2300 communities and 80-90 percent live within seventy miles of the NG Base. The Regular Active Army has only 35 locations and is not well dispersed throughout the country as are the Reserve Centers and the NG Bases.<sup>20</sup> This approach allows the Active Component to focus on it's warfighting mission while the Army Reserve and National Guard do what they have demonstrated they do best.<sup>21</sup>

Use of the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve component would not be appropriate for domestic service. The Marine Reserve Division organization mirrors the Active Division's structure in that the Marine Division has warfighters, combat support and combat service support units.

The "Posse Comitatus Act" (18 U.S.C., Section 1385) prohibits Army forces under Federal control from functioning in a domestic law enforcement capacity except under certain circumstances such as internal rebellion, martial law and a state of emergency. There is also a prohibition on the use of military forces on private land.<sup>22</sup> The fact that Posse Comitatus prohibits the Federal military from being used in enforcing civil laws caused a problem during the Los Angeles riot of 1992 when the California National Guard was "federalized" by Presidential Order. The California Guard participated in law enforcement until they were federalized and then had to be removed from that role during a critical time of the riots. Also, Army National Guard troops could be used in federal prisons but not state prisons.<sup>23</sup>

The Defense Planning Guidance's fourth goal authorizes "use of defense-to-defense civil contacts to assist in strengthening civil-military institutions and encourage reductions in the economic burden of military spending".<sup>24</sup> The Army Plan also specifically authorizes the Army to support civil authorities through disaster relief, emergency assistance and interdiction of illicit drugs.<sup>25</sup> The current proposed Army doctrine (FM 100-5) refers to "Operations Other Than War". This doctrine is oriented towards assistance external to the United States (i.e. peacekeeping, nation assistance), however it also specifically states "the Army is increasingly called upon in its role as a



strategic force to further the interests of the United States at home and abroad in a variety of ways other than war."<sup>26</sup>

Before proceeding to the next section describing potential military domestic roles, it is interesting to note what other countries have done in this area. For example, vocational training is a mission given the forces from Belgium, Israel, The Netherlands, Pakistan, and Peru. Education programs are conducted by armed forces from Belgium, Brazil, Iran, Israel, Nigeria, The Netherlands, and The United Kingdom. Belgian, Columbian, Iranian and Peruvian forces provide health services. Brazilian and Peruvian forces are involved in road-building and survey. Morocco conducts disaster relief and Colombia has Youth Camp Programs operated by the armed forces.<sup>27</sup> The military in Ecuador conducts environmental assistance and education of the Indians.<sup>28</sup> Indonesia has separated their armed forces into two entities reporting to an overall Defense Department: defense forces and social forces. The social forces sole mission is to assist Indonesian civilians to improve their standard of living.<sup>29</sup> It therefore could be concluded that most nations of the world who possess organized armies are using them in some form of Civic Action. "Surely the developed nations can find a contemporary use for its vast military resources that may stand idle, but necessary in periods of prolonged peace".<sup>30</sup>

## POTENTIAL DOMESTIC ROLES FOR THE ARMY

The following domestic roles proposed by Senator Nunn will now be explored in more detail.

1. Disaster Relief
2. Humanitarian Assistance
3. Acting as Role Models
4. Rehabilitation of Facilities and Infrastructure
5. Vocational and Education
6. Military Youth-Service Partnership
7. Work Assistance
8. Medical Research

Disaster Relief and Humanitarian Assistance are areas of military domestic assistance that are most accepted by civilians, palatable and gratifying to some individuals in the military forces giving assistance. Public acceptance and relevance of military domestic assistance has been proven in many recent disasters. For example, the following is a quote by a civilian about military performance in Hurricane Andrew: "If this is what they mean by the new Army, that they are concerned about our welfare at home also, then I think that's a real, real good thing" .<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, the Army recognizes these roles as legitimate by virtue of including them in the 1992 Army Plan and the new Field Manual 100-5. These roles include: earthquake, flood, and hurricane assistance.

Prior to 1979, the responsibility for dealing with emergencies and disaster relief was spread among a number of Federal agencies. Not having one agency "in charge" led to

inefficiencies and duplication of effort. President Carter established a single agency on 19 June 1978, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), to establish policies and coordinate all civil emergency planning and management of the assistance functions of the Executive agencies, effective 20 July 1979. FEMA was formed from emergency management agencies belonging to DOD (Defense Civil Preparedness Agency), Department of Housing and Urban Development (Federal Disaster Assistance Administration) and the General Services Administration (Federal Preparedness Agency).<sup>32</sup>

FEMA has not performed satisfactorily in recent relief efforts. Congressmen have been very critical of FEMA's recent efforts in Hurricanes Andrew and Hugo and the California earthquake claiming they "do not have the clout, the resources or the know-how".<sup>33</sup> However, the Army does have these capabilities. The Army is very adept at deploying quickly and in mass and has the equipment and the knowledge of how to use it. The most useful Army capability was Command and Control and Communications. A quote from an official in Florida illustrates the point. "The command and control structure the military has, that's what the key is now. The organizational skills, the ability to give a command and move people into a sector, that's what we can contribute".<sup>34</sup> An example of these organizational skills occurred during Hurricane Andrew relief. The President directed DOD to play a major relief role. DOD made the Army the executive agent for disaster relief in DOD. The Army took the

lead and formed a Joint Task Force and within eight days, the Joint Forces numbering up to 27000 military, provided mass feeding, health care, repair and law enforcement activities. A second order effect key to the operation was leaving the Florida National Guard under State control to allow it to conduct civil law enforcement.

Although disaster relief is an accepted role, caution must be exercised that the military should only be used in an emergency role where massive assistance is needed and not get involved in day-to-day business (i.e. processing disaster loan applications).<sup>35</sup> Also both the National Guard and Army Reserve should be the preferred components for this role rather than the Active component because the Guard can avoid the "Posse Comitatus" implications described earlier and the Combat Service/Combat Service Support orientation of the Reserve and Guard.

Acting as Role Models is a preeminent function of the Armed Forces. Senator Nunn recognized this as one of the key strengths of the Armed Forces. "Hardworking, disciplined men and women, who command respect and honor in their very presence, can serve as a very powerful force among our young people".<sup>36</sup> The leadership skill imparted by military service is an example of a unique national resource that should be utilized to teach values and ethics. The National Guard and Reserves have a distinctive capability to be role models by virtue of being residents of our

communities. They are well known locally and represent the community cross section of people and occupations.

The military has programs in place to role model drug free behavior. The basis for these programs was taken from the highly successful New Mexico National Guard Counterdrug Support Plan 1-91. Other initiatives for particularly National Guard involvement may eventually include participation as a security force in inner city schools.<sup>37</sup> Examples of additional mentoring programs in place and operated by the National Guard are: Adopted Kid Program, Project Impact Program in California for troubled children and the Civilian Youth Opportunity Programs for 16-18 year old high school dropouts not yet in legal trouble.<sup>38</sup>

Rehabilitization of Facilities and Infrastructure could be done provided it does not compete with private business. The Corp of Engineers has initiated research programs to repair, evaluate, maintain and rehabilitate (REMR) locks and dams in the inland waterways system. Implementing innovative technology, the REMR program developed a concrete mixture for underwater placement in Chicago, Troy Lock and at a superfund site in Michigan.<sup>39</sup>

The Wisconsin Army National Guard engineer unit has built playgrounds and baseball diamonds. They have also been significantly involved with cleaning up ecological problems using state funding such as leaking liquid tanks.<sup>40</sup>

Another example of a domestic role of the Army was the Pennsylvania Army National Guard demolishing buildings used as

drug havens in the city of Lancaster. The city had no funds to contract with private business to demolish the buildings. The television interviews of the local residents indicated satisfaction with the Army's role in supporting the city. It is quite obvious the Army engineer units can perform this kind of service while concurrently keeping their skill levels and equipment at peak efficiencies thereby maintaining their combat readiness.

Vocational and Education training opportunities abound. The military service personnel have never had such a high level educated force due to the all volunteer military meeting it's quotas. Nearly all of the enlisted personnel are high school graduates and a large percentage of the officer corps have college degrees. A July 1992 survey by the National Center for Education Information of 820 soldiers requesting information on career teaching confirmed 60% held bachelor's degrees, 20% had masters degrees, and 36% were willing to teach in inner city schools.<sup>41</sup> However, for undisclosed reasons, there has been some resistance in getting talking time in schools by the Wisconsin Army National Guard.<sup>42</sup> The military forces are a rich source of mentors and trainers, with a cross section of ethnic backgrounds and have an interest in teaching.

A teaching career is applicable primarily to servicemembers leaving the Armed Services rather than during their present career. Schools need the service person's experience but they must be available at a single location year around. Other

drawbacks are the requirement for a teaching certificate and low starting pay. The National Guard conducts a math and science proficiency program called Starbase at Selfridge Air National Guard Base in Michigan for one day per week for five weeks.<sup>43</sup>

There are examples of the Active Army units training civilians in the counterdrug effort. The U.S. Army Military Police School provides mobile training teams to regional Law Enforcement Agencies and by opening resident courses to civilian law enforcement personnel.<sup>44</sup>

The need for adequate human resources to build a strong economy and therefore a secure United States is vital. Employing the military services to restructure the lives of America's youth should benefit the nation by combining the discipline and esprit de corps of the military with the youth education and community service roles of existing youth help programs. Military-youth programs have already been funded by Congress for 1992-1993 as part of the Center for Strategic and International Studies "National Community Service for Out-of-School Youth" at National Guard bases in Oklahoma and West Virginia.<sup>45</sup> It should prove interesting during subsequent evaluation whether this form of military-youth program is feasible and useful.

A number of pilot programs are currently underway under the auspices of the National Guard Bureau, Army Reserve and the Junior Reserve Officers Training Corps.<sup>46</sup> An example is the New York Cadet Corps Program meeting one night per week. An example of working with youth conducted by the Wisconsin Army National

Guard is a camp for "at-risk" youths, 14-16 years old. The objective is to catch them before they become involved with drugs and crime then providing the equivalent of military basic training. The program is separately funded by \$300,000 from the DOD and National Guard Bureau.<sup>47</sup>

There are also opportunities for civil-military cooperative use of military training facilities. It would provide a forum for discussion, learning and talking time beneficial to all parties. An example of this opportunity is the Wisconsin Army National Guard inviting high school students into motor pools to learn basic mechanic skills while the Guard uses the time for recruiting.<sup>48</sup>

The Military Police School is involved in a program which promises to have a positive effect on youthful, first-time, drug offenders. A Rehabilitation Training Instructors Course is offered to civilian corrections officers to train them as instructors for various state "shock incarceration programs" designed to give a boot camp experience to inmates.<sup>49</sup>

Work Assistance programs, similar to the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) of 1933, the Citizens Military Training Camp (CMT) of 1920, and the Universal Military Training (UMT) Program of 1946, have been proposed as models of work relief programs from which conclusions can be drawn. Each of the programs addressed specific groups of individuals for different purposes.



The Civilian Conservation Corps was the most well-known example of the Government providing work for young unemployed men during the Depression. Initially, President Roosevelt expected the War, Labor, Agriculture and Interior Departments to be involved in the CCC program by providing work relief for 300,000 men. However, it eventually became the Army's sole responsibility. The estimate of Army manpower required was 5500 officers (Active Army 3000, Army Reserve 2000, Navy-Marine 500) and over 5000 Regular enlisted soldiers.<sup>50</sup> Manpower was stripped from units and the ROTC and annual Corps maneuvers were canceled to support the manpower requirements. The impact of the CCC on the military manpower pool can be seen by realizing the Regular Army numbered less than 160,000 officers and men.<sup>51</sup> As a result, a second order effect was that unit readiness across the Army dropped so that immediate deployment for a contingency was almost impossible.<sup>52</sup> The Army Chief of Staff at the time, General Douglas MacArthur, considered the CCC a threat to the Army's fundamental defense mission. However, later he saw the CCC as a valuable mobilization exercise and a way of demonstrating to Congress and the American people the value of the officer corps and the Army.<sup>53</sup> The most striking long range benefit to the Army was in the preparation of federal reserve officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) for World War II. By 1937, over 30,000 officers and NCO's had participated in the

CCC and over three million young men were housed, fed and clothed.<sup>54, 55</sup>

The CMTC program was controlled only by the Army for the purpose of providing military training for young American men to become officers and NCOs. Later, additional purposes included developing closer national and social unity and that military training was an asset vital to national defense. The effect on the Regular Army was minimal because the program was later run by the Reserves. The CMTC program was considered a success for minimal cost per trainee.<sup>56</sup>

The UMT program was civilian led with the Army tasked to carry out a major portion of the basic training and the option of subsequent specialized training, or ROTC enrollment or enlistment in the Regular Army. Based on an experimental pilot program at Ft Knox, the Army estimated the man-year cost to be \$1600 for a total annual cost of 1-2 billion dollars in 1947.<sup>57</sup>

The advantages gained by the nation from these programs is quite clear. The manpower pool worked at improving the nations infrastructure, provided employment during bad economical times and prepared the individuals to be leaders of the military forces and industry. However, it is also evident from the experience provided by the above programs, that the impact on army manpower/readiness and program costs need to be seriously considered prior to embarking on these programs.

Medical research and assistance has always been a centerpiece of Army contribution to the American society.

Contributions by Army doctors such as Walter Reed and William C. Gorgas in typhoid and yellow fever research are well known. Not so well known are Army research firsts in chlorination of water, discovery of the cause and cure of beri-beri and the development of the Anthrax vaccine.<sup>58</sup>

Medical military civic action is another possible role. Two examples are: the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors expanded the role of military physicians at county run hospitals;<sup>59</sup> emergency medical evacuation by military helicopter provided by the Military Assistance to Safety and Traffic (MAST) Program has been available to civilians in areas without transportation equipment. The MAST program has achieved considerable public acceptance.<sup>60</sup>

#### SPECIFIC ROLES FOR THE NATIONAL GUARD

A bipartisan group of Congressmen and Senators requested the National Guard (NG) to develop missions for the 21st century. The National Guard Bureau has recently completed a proposal for potential National Guard missions.<sup>61</sup> The missions include engineer and medical operations for urban and disadvantaged areas; NG assistance to the Job Corps; computer literacy/Safe Haven; drug demand reduction programs; math and science literacy program-Starbase; gang alternatives; unemployed, drug free, crime free dropouts intervention programs scheduled to start in FY 1993; National Youth Fitness Clinic (a pilot program was successfully run in 1992); environmental stewardship;

catastrophic response (five NG brigades have been used); and disaster response planning and control (the NG is already designated primary federal military response force for all domestic emergencies and disasters when federalized). Therefore, it is quite apparent that the militia is already very active in disaster relief and desires to increase it's role in other areas of public assistance.

### CONCLUSIONS

Ltc Charles Dunlap, in a controversial article in Parameters, which cautions against excessive use of the military forces in non-traditional roles, stated "Each moment spent performing a nontraditional mission is one unavailable for orthodox military exercises....<sup>62</sup> People in the military no longer considered themselves warriors (when conducting non-warfighting roles).<sup>63</sup> Further, he argues, that "the armed forces focus exclusively on indisputably military duties".<sup>64</sup>

In my exploration of this subject, I found no document or individual's statement that suggested any mission other than national defense being of highest priority. The issue here is using a national asset (the Armed Forces) in ways supportive of the national interest, including developing U.S. human resources, which is a key ingredient to national longevity.

Another major issue is a widening "chasm" developing between the Armed Forces and U.S. citizens. The chasm is widening because of a lack of external threat and thereby the Armed Forces

being considered irrelevant. Also, as an outcome of the all-volunteer Army, there is the perception that the military is an elite, 'out-of-touch", self-selected institution not representing a cross-section of the citizens. Many citizens also perceive the Armed Forces as being an autocratic society with a "bunker mentality" in times of severely constrained resources. There is a threat to our nation! Internal threats such as infrastructure decline, the effects of drug use, low level of education of our youth, high imprisonment levels and medical costs. The Armed Forces could assist the nation and diminish this chasm by considerably expanding it's current role in domestic assistance.

The training that soldiers receive while in the Army is of significant value in building the moral fiber and sound values of the American society. The U.S. Armed Forces are the best trainers in the country. The respect for law and authority, habits of discipline, building of self-esteem and providing a direction in life have been quoted as advantages in joining the Army.<sup>65</sup> We must not miss the opportunity to take advantage of this pre-eminent Army capability. Americans are going to demand a return on investment from the Armed Forces in return for the resources provided. At no other time in American history is there a more propitious time to improve the military's image with it's citizens. The military has a golden opportunity to survive by contributing and participating in the U.S. society through domestic assistance.

## ENDNOTES

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### <sup>2</sup> Post Vietnam War:

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b. USAWC RESEARCH PAPER, The American soldier in Peacetime, Col James P. Harley, 3 Oct 1973.

c. USAWC RESEARCH PAPER, Peaceful Uses of the Military in the Era of Deterrence, Ltc Philip H. Mecom, Jr., 15 Apr 1973.

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<sup>3</sup> U.S. Congress. Senate. Senator Sam Nunn's Proposal on "Forging Civil-Military Co-operation for Community Regeneration", 102nd Congress, Congressional Record- Senate, (Vol 138, No. 91, 23 June 1992).

<sup>4</sup> Bush, President. Newsletter, BUDGET AND PROGRAM, Vol XVIII, No. 44, Washington, 30 October, 1992, 2.

<sup>5</sup> News briefing by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney and Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff, Drawing Down the Guard and Reserve, Defense Issues, (Vol 7 No. 14, Pentagon, March 26, 1992), 8.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>7</sup> Chief of Staff, Army, General Gordon R. Sullivan, "The Army's Strategic Issues" memorandum to the Army, 19 July, 1991.

<sup>8</sup> Chief of Staff, Army General Gordon R. Sullivan. "Maintaining Continuity While Accommodating Change", memorandum to the Army, 28 June 1991.

<sup>9</sup> Congress, Senate, Remarks by Governor Bill Clinton, American Foreign Policy and the Democratic Ideal, 102nd Congress, Congressional Record, Senate S16826, 5 October, 1992.

<sup>10</sup> Letter, To Mr Warren Theis, USAWC from Senator Sam Nunn, 27 October, 1992.

<sup>11</sup> Sullivan, The Army's strategic Issues,

<sup>12</sup> Nunn, Forging Civil-military Co-operation for Community Regeneration, 23 June 1992,

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 2

<sup>15</sup> Senator Sam Nunn, Interview on television, Face the Nation, 15 Nov, 1992.

<sup>16</sup> Ltc Robert J. Chant, An Army for Action: A Domestic Assistance Program, (USAWC Research Paper, 26 feb 1973), 6.

<sup>17</sup> Virgil Ney, The United States Soldier in a Nonviolent Role (An Historical Overview), (CORG Memorandum CORG-M-310, July 1967), 95-99.

<sup>18</sup> "The National Guard is Still the Heart of America," National Guard Magazine, (April 1992), 28.

<sup>19</sup> Col Philip A. Brehm and Wilbur E. Gray, Alternative Missions for the Army, (Strategic Studies Institute, 17 July 1992), v.

<sup>20</sup> Mr Dan Donahue, National Guard Bureau, Interview by author, 5 January 1993, Pentagon.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>22</sup> Ltc Larry M. Forster, The Military's Role in the Drug War, (USAWC Course 2 Paper, 29 Sep 1992), 1.

<sup>23</sup> BG Jim Holmes of USANG Wisconsin, interview by author, 18 Nov 1992, USAWC.

<sup>24</sup> Department of Defense, Defense Planning Guidance (Washington, Paragraph I, 4th goal, 22 May 1992), 2.

<sup>25</sup> Department of the Army, The Army Plan (Washington, Chart 1, 10 Oct 1992), 10.

<sup>26</sup> Department of the Army, Operations Other Than War (Field Manual 100-5, Chapter 5, draft), 5-1.

<sup>27</sup> Hugh Hanning, The Peaceful Uses of Military Forces (Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), Chapters 6-19.

<sup>28</sup> Col Ping Liang, Taiwan. Interview by author, 9 Nov 1992, USAWC.

<sup>29</sup> Col Sjahrial, Briefing of Asia/Pacific theater, Indonesian Forces, USAWC, 28 Jan 1993.

<sup>30</sup> Ltc Philip H. Mecom, Jr., Peaceful Uses of the Military in the Era of Deterrence, (USAWC, 15 Apr, 1973), 11.

<sup>31</sup> Adam Pertman, 'Hurricane Relief Signals New Role for US Military,' Boston Globe, 6 Sep 1992, 1.

<sup>32</sup> Ltc Thomas G. Harrison, Peacetime Employment of the Military-The Army's Role in Domestic Disaster Relief, (USAWC, 15 Apr 1992), 8.

<sup>33</sup> Rick Maze, "Pentagon may get disaster relief role back", Army Times, 21 Sept 1992, 26.

<sup>34</sup> Larry Rohter, "Mountain Troops on Unlikely Mission", New York Times, 11 Sep 1992, Quote by Col Bill Martinez, Battalion Commander, 10th Mountain Division during Hurricane Andrew.

<sup>35</sup> Rick Maze, "Pentagon may get disaster relief role back", Army Times, 21 Sept 1992, 26.

<sup>36</sup> Senator Sam Nunn, Congressional Record-Senate, 2.

<sup>37</sup> Forster, The Military's Role in the Drug War, 6.

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<sup>39</sup> Lee Trussell Byrne, 'Repairing the Nation's Infrastructure', Army Research, Development & Acquisition Bulletin, (Sept-Oct 1992), 1.

<sup>40</sup> Holmes, Interview, 19 Nov 1992.

<sup>41</sup> Washington AP, "Proposal: Turn Soldiers into Teachers", The Sentinel, Carlisle Pa, 7 Dec 1992.

<sup>42</sup> Brig Gen Holmes, Interview by author, 19 Nov 1992.

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<sup>44</sup> Forster, The Military's Role in the Drug War, 6.



<sup>45</sup> Senator John McCain, Representative Dave McCurdy et.al., Forging a Military Youth Corps A Military-Youth Service Partnership for High School Dropouts, (The Center for Strategic & International Studies, Washington D.C., Sept 1992), vii.

<sup>46</sup> Senator Nunn, Forging Civil-Military Cooperation For Community Regeneration, 3.

<sup>47</sup> Brig General Jim Holmes, Wisconsin Army National Guard, interview by author, 19 Nov 1992.

<sup>48</sup> BG Holmes, Interview by the Author, 19 Nov 1992, USAWC.

<sup>49</sup> Forster, The Military's Role in the Drug War, 7.

<sup>50</sup> Col Charles E. Heller, The Army's Role in the Civilian Conservation Corps, Strategic Studies Institute, no date, 2-3.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>55</sup> Association of the United States Army, Special Report is National Service Really Feasible, (Arlington Virginia, 1987), 6.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>58</sup> Edward B. Glick, Peaceful Conflict, (Stackpole Books, 1967), 55.

<sup>59</sup> John W. De Pauw, Winning the Peace The Strategic Implications of Military Civic Action, 191.

<sup>60</sup> Ltc Edward B. Covington III, A Concept of Domestic Involvement: Army Helicopters in Support of the Civilian Community, (USAWC Research Paper, 23 Feb 1972), 11.

<sup>61</sup> Mr Dan Donahue, National Guard Bureau, Interview by author, 5 January 1993, Pentagon.

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 14.

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